

# THE CRISIS.

Devoted to the Support of the Democratic Principles of Jefferson.

"Union, harmony, self-denial, concession---everything for the Cause, nothing for Men."

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## TERMS.

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## POLITICAL.

### ADMIRABLE EXPOSE.

The following are extracts from the Address of the Democratic members of the Legislature of New York, "to the Democratic Republican Electors of the State of New York," of the 4th inst.—They are eminently worthy of attention:

#### Washington's Administration.

Washington, the Father of his Country, was made the first President, and John Adams, the advocate of Monarchy, the Vice President. Thomas Jefferson, the purest of Democrats, was appointed Secretary of State, and Alexander Hamilton, who was the friend of the British system, with all its corruptions, Secretary of the Treasury; Gen. Knox was Secretary of War, and Edmund Randolph, Attorney-General, both the political friends of Hamilton. Jefferson had just returned from France, where he had been Minister, and thus speaks of the state things around the President, viz: "The President received me cordially, and my colleagues, and the circle of principal citizens, apparently with welcome. The courtesies of dinner parties given me, as a stranger newly arrived among them, placed me at once in their familiar society. But I cannot describe the wonder and mortification with which the-table conversations filled me. Politics were the chief topic, and a preference for kingly over republican government was evidently the favorite sentiment. An apostate I could not be, nor yet a hypocrite; and I found myself for the most part the only advocate on the Republican side of the question, unless among the guests there chanced to be some member of that party from the legislative houses."

He relates the following remarks made on one dinner occasion, viz: "After the cloth was removed, conversation was led to the British Constitution, on which Mr. Adams observed—'purge that Constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect Constitution ever devised by the wit of man.' Hamilton paused and said, 'purge it of its corruption, and you make it an impracticable government; as it stands now, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed.'

#### The Funding System and the origin of the U. States Bank.

Hamilton was the leading spirit of the cabinet.—More, as to the future character of the Government, depended on the organization and administration of the Treasury Department, at that time, than on any other department of the Government; and Hamilton, true to his principles, set about constructing a system which should create an influence in Congress sufficient to counteract the will of the people and assimilate that body to the corrupt Parliament of Great Britain. A large amount of certificates of public debt for articles furnished during the Revolutionary war, was outstanding, which had been purchased by speculators at half to one-tenth of their nominal amount. Hamilton proposed to fund these at par, and a majority being secured for the project, some of the members were enabled to make large sums of money, buying them up indirectly before the bill passed. His next project was the assumption of the State debts contracted during the revolutionary war and then much depressed, in relation to which much the same game was played. These means secured temporarily a majority in Congress.—But, says Mr. Jefferson, "some engine of influence more permanent must be contrived, while these myrmidons were still in place to carry it through all opposition. THIS ENGINE WAS THE BANK OF THE UNITED STATES." "While the government remained at Philadelphia, a selection of members of houses were constantly kept as directors who on every question interesting to that institution, or the views of the Federal head, voted at the will of that head; and together with the stockholding members, could always make the Federal vote of a majority. By this combination, legislative expositions were given to the constitution, and

all the administrative laws were shaped on the model of England and so passed."

"Here, then, was the real ground," continues Mr. Jefferson, "of the opposition which was made to the course of the Administration. Its object was to preserve the legislature pure and independent of the executive, to restrain the Administration to Republican forms and principles, and not permit the Constitution to be construed into a monarchy and to be warped in practise into all the principles and pollutions of their favorite English model. Nor was this an opposition to Gen. Washington. He was true to the Republican charge confided to him, and has solemnly and repeatedly protested to me, in our conversations that he would lose the last drop of his blood in support of it; and he did this the oftener and with the more earnestness, because he knew my suspicions of Hamilton's designs against it, and wished to quiet them. For he was not aware of the drift or effect of Hamilton's schemes—unversed in financial projects and calculations and budgets, his approbation of them was bottomed on his confidence in the man."

#### Origin of the Republican and Federal Parties.

When the bill to establish a National Bank was presented to President Washington, he hesitated as to giving it his approval. He asked the opinion of the Secretary of the Treasury as to the precise time at which the ten days allowed the President by the Constitution to consider a bill, would expire, and kept it until the last moment. The opinions of the members of his cabinet were taken, and on that occasion Jefferson and Hamilton took their stands at the head of the two great political schools which have ever since divided the country. Then was achieved the first great triumph of the aristocratic principle over the true spirit and intents of the Federal Constitution. To that act are to be attributed most of the embittered political excitements and a large portion of the actual mischiefs which have agitated and distressed the country ever since. It is true that the Republican party, in 1811, faithful to their principles and to the Constitution, refused to renew the charter of that Bank, and it wound up its affairs; but the example was set: Washington had signed the bill, a precedent had been obtained, which, in 1816, led to the establishment of another, with three-fold strength, the power of which over the country, its influence over Congress, the distress, panic, terror and ruin it is capable of scattering abroad when its interests or existence may be in danger, are fearfully illustrated in the events of the last ten years.

The influence and integrity of Washington prevented any signal exhibition of the practical effects of the Aristocratic principle during his administration. No man was more devoted to the cause of liberty or to the success of the new form of government. The hesitancy and apprehension with which he had given his assent to the bank bill, rendered him the more alert to check other attempts to enlarge the powers of the government and to prevent the consequences from this act which Mr. Jefferson had anticipated. In these efforts the force of his character and the fear of his dissent and displeasure, rendered him in a great degree successful.

The signing of the bank bill and a few other acts of Washington's administration, done under the advice of Hamilton and his political associates, gave the Republican friends of the President great uneasiness, but led to no distinct organization of parties. None doubted the purity of Washington's motives; few perceived at first the complicated dangers which lurked under the principles avowed by Hamilton; and all were desirous that Washington should leave public life without a shade on his glory or a feeling to mar the happiness of his remaining days. In the eloquent language of Mr. Jefferson, who viewed the transactions of the day with the eye of a philosopher and a patriot, "they would not suffer the temporary aberration to weigh against the immeasurable merits of his life; and although they tumbled his seducers from their places, they preserved his memory embalmed in their hearts with undiminished love and devotion, and there it will forever remain embalmed, in entire oblivion of every temporary thing which might cloud the glories of his splendid life."

#### The Reign of Terror.

But no sooner were the name and influence of Washington withdrawn from the Administration of the government, than the anti-Democratic principle, under the name of Federalism, began to show itself openly in practice. He was succeeded in the Presidential chair

by John Adams, an avowed monarchist. Within two years from his accession to the Presidency, the calm which had preceded and accompanied the retirement of Washington, was changed into a storm of political excitement by the boldness and recklessness with which the new Administration attempted to carry into practice the avowed principles of the Federal party. Then, for the first time, were the people of this country divided by distinct party lines, upon the principles which ought to control the administration of our government—a division which, with many mutations of men and of names, and sometimes a momentary obscuration of those lines, has existed to the present day, and will continue to exist as long as our government endures, or the principle of evil is permitted to operate in the political or moral world.

At the first session of Congress under the new Administration, the celebrated Alien Act was passed, which authorized the President to order any alien to leave the country, when he should deem that the public security required it, on pain of three years' imprisonment.

At the same session, the equally celebrated Sedition Law was enacted, subjecting to a penalty of not exceeding two thousand dollars and imprisonment not exceeding two years, any one who should "write, print, utter or publish," or cause or aid in the same, "any false, scandalous and malicious writing or writings against the government of the United States, or either House of the Congress of the United States, or the President of the United States, with the intent to defame the said government, or either House of said Congress, or the said President, or to bring them or either of them into contempt or disrepute; or to excite against them or either or any of them the hatred of the good people of the United States, or to stir up sedition in the United States," giving the Federal Courts jurisdiction over the press in such cases.

Acts were passed also for raising a standing army and increasing the navy, carrying the expenditures far beyond the means of the government.

To sustain these establishments, a direct tax was laid, and stamp and excise duties imposed, and these not being sufficient, loans were resorted to. Although these measures were defended on the ground that a war with France was impending, the Republican party now, for the time, assuming a regular organization, believed, as it ultimately appeared, that France had no inclination to make war upon us, and that the chief object of all these measures, some of which they considered unconstitutional, was to break down the state authorities and the independence of the people, for the purpose of enlarging the powers of the General Government and assimilating it to the admired British model.

Around this Administration rallied all the monarchists and aristocrats of the Revolution. There were men taking an active part in that struggle who fought for Independence, but not for Liberty. They desired to establish the Independence of the country, not that the people might be free, but that they might be its rulers. They desired to be the titled nobility of a new monarchy, to be raised above the people and live upon their labor in luxury and ease; an eminence they could never hope to gain as long as their country was tributary to a foreign monarchy, which kept them far from the throne. They were delighted with the Federal Administration of the elder Adams, perceiving in its measures a tendency towards the end they had from the beginning of resistance to British power, had steadily in view. These men were joined by most of the old Tories whose sufferings had inspired them with a deadly hatred for the Republican principles and men of the Revolution, and they now sought their revenge upon the one by contributing to the subversion of the other. These combinations, backed by the National Bank, the Alien and Sedition Laws, a standing army, the countenance and power of the Administration, and we may add a willing Judiciary, were full of hope, insolent and overbearing. For a time, leading Republicans could scarce show themselves in public places or in the streets of the capital, without being hooted at and insulted, and that period in our country's history acquired the appropriate name of "the Reign of Terror." "No person," says Mr. Jefferson, "who was not a witness of the scenes of that gloomy period, can form any idea of the afflicting persecutions and personal dignities we had to brook."

Started at the bold usurpations of the Federal Government, and perceiving in the establishment of the principles upon which it was administered, the certain

loss of all that was valuable in the independence secured by the Revolution, the Republicans of that day, the true Whigs of the Revolution, girded on their armor and rushed to the rescue of liberty and the Constitution. Seeking only "the greatest good of the greatest number," having adopted the principles of the Declaration of Independence as their guide, and with its great author, "sworn upon the altar of God eternal hostility against every form of tyranny over the mind of man," they took the field, resolved to overthrow the barriers which Federal authority was erecting around its usurpations. Men of talents and learning took up the cause of the people with the zeal of apostles and the devotion of martyrs. They filled the newspapers with able and animated discussions, and throwing themselves into the Legislatures of the States, through those organs in powerful addresses and resolutions, asserted the true doctrines of the Constitution. After a short but severe struggle, the Democratic principle prevailed, and at the Presidential election of 1800, Jefferson and Burr, the Republican candidates for President and Vice President, received a majority of the electoral votes.

#### The old Federal and modern Whig Party identical.

With these evidences before him, can any man doubt that the party now calling itself "Whig," is the same party which under the name of "Federalist," was encountered by Jefferson and his associates in the early days of the republic?

Look at facts and principles. More than nine-tenths of the individuals known as Federalists in former days, now rally under the banners of Whiggery. The principles and practices of Federalism and Whiggery are identical. Who were, in former times, the advocates and supporters of the Bank of the U. States? *The Federalists*.—Who are they now? *The Whigs*. Who, in former days, opposed the extension of the right of suffrage, and denied the capacity of the people for self-government?—*The Federalists*. Who are now most distrustful of the people, and seek by registry laws and other devices to embarrass the exercise of a right they cannot withhold? *The Whigs*. Who passed laws for the expulsion of foreigners from the country, and to prevent emigration hither, though "obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners and refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither," by the king of England, was set forth in the Declaration of Independence as one of the causes of the Revolution? *The Federalists*. Who are now in favor of excluding foreigners from office and from the right of suffrage, and are getting up Native American Societies, and resorting to other means to embarrass naturalization, with the same views? *The Whigs*. Who passed the Sedition act, to prevent men from speaking and writing with freedom upon the doings of the Congress or President of the United States? *The Federalists*. Who are now pressing a bill in Congress to curtail the political rights and privileges of a large number of our citizens holding offices under the Government? *The Whigs*.—Who, under the reign of Hamilton and Adams, were the advocates of a National Debt? *The Federalists*. Who are now attempting, by withdrawing from the General Government its means of support, to force it again into debt? *The Whigs*. Who were the advocates, in the time of John Adams, of high taxes and extravagant expenditures? *The Federalists*. Who are now the advocates of high taxes, under the name of duties on imports, and assuming direct power over the internal affairs of the country, such as roads and canals, in doing the same thing indirectly, by giving money to the States to be expended upon them, thus enlarging incalculably the public expenditures? *The Whigs*. Who, in the time of Jefferson and Madison, took sides against their own Government in every dispute with a foreign power?—*The Federalists*. Who did the same thing in the time of General Jackson? *The Whigs*. Who, in the days of John Adams, offered personal indignities at the capitol to Jefferson, Randolph and other leading Republicans? *The Federalists*. Who, in their mobbish parades with shouts and mock music now insult and deride leading Democrats at Washington and alarm their families in the dead of night? *The Whigs*. Scarcely a principle or a practice can be named in which *ancient Federalism* and *modern Whiggery* are not entirely parallel. Indeed, those who remember the history of the times, cannot have forgotten, that the one name is the direct descendant of the other, only in the second degree. *Federalist* was originally a popular name. It was borne with pride by the Anti-Democratic party, until it was disgraced by its owners, and came to signify an enemy to liberty. That party then cast it off, and took the name of "National Republican," a popular appellation. This also, they soon disgraced and repudiated. They then, after casting odium upon every faction to which chance gave birth, by adopting its cognomen, assumed the ancient and honored name of "Whig," and for a few years have inscribed that upon their banners. It was as a party in each case, that they threw off one name and took another; as a party, they threw off the name of *Federalist* and took that of *National Republican*; as a party, they

threw off the name of *National Republican* and took that of *Whig*; the party was essentially the same under each name; for, how "can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots?" In the language of Mr. Jefferson, "Tories are Tories still, by whatever name they may be called."

The Democrat has reason to be proud of the contrast which the history of party names affords. His party have never made their party name unpopular and odious, by their dishonest, unpatriotic and traitorous conduct. His principles are truth, honesty and patriotism, which never disgrace the name which is made to embrace them. His party exists from generation to generation, under the same name, respected and admired; while he sees his antagonist every few years casting off a name made odious by his principles and practices, and assuming one more popular, as a means of gaining strength with the few who mistake names for principles. And now, after exhausting the political vocabulary in selecting a name, we see this *Federal, National, Republican, Whig* party attempting to file: from us the name of *Democrat*! Is it not enough that they have always been permitted to choose names for themselves? After disgracing all they have chosen, and rendering them a by-word and a reproach—is it not too much, that they should attempt to rob us of ours?

The Federal practice of changing party names merits deep consideration from the people, as an evidence of dishonest principles. An honest man never changes his name, because his honesty makes it honorable. A knave frequently changes his, with his place, because it is his interest *not to be known*. The Democratic party marches onward, proud of the name which its principles have made honorable; while its antagonist changes its name with every change of circumstances, being always the strongest when its principles are least known. And it is the same dishonest motive which induces it constantly to fix false names upon the Democratic party as well as its own. In the time of Jefferson it called us *Jacobins*, *infidels*, *levelers*, *agrarians*, &c. &c., and under Jackson it honored us with similar appellations, and has superadded the term *Loco Foco*. All this an intelligent people view with indifference, so far as it affects them, and as one of the means by which the anti-Democratic party disgrace and render disreputable every name they adopt.

Federalism was opposed to every extension of the right of suffrage; but the Democratic spirit in this state and many others has rendered that opposition unavailable, and made it almost universal. Federal Whiggery is now compelled to resort to other means to defeat the great objects of that extension and still keep the government in the hands of the few. These means are multifarious, and are varied as circumstances require.

#### Federal Misrepresentations.

The first is false representations as to their own principles and objects, as well as those of their opponents. Their own changes of names, and the practice of giving odious names to their opponents, constitute a part of this game. They think a Democratic people are so ignorant and simple, that they may be induced by a name to vote against their own principles.

Devoted to a National Bank, they tell the people that question is settled: but omit no opportunity to make impressions on their minds favorable to such an institution.

While the Government funds were deposited in the State Banks, they called those institutions the "Pet Banks," and abused the system without measure; but the moment the Government, on account of the failure of those banks to fulfil their obligations to the public as well as individuals, proposed to place the funds elsewhere, the "Pet Banks" became great favorites with them, and the new system suggested was denounced with violence never surpassed.

They declared that the Independent Treasury was a device to give the public money or its use to executive officers, when they knew its only object was to prevent its being used for private purposes, through the instrumentality of banks, and cause it to be kept sacredly for the use of the public.

They know that if the public money be put in banks, it will be rendered unsafe by being lent out, and that in the hands of individual depositaries, bound to fidelity by penal laws and heavy bonds, it will be kept for the use of the public only; yet they pretend to be most anxious for the *safety* of the government funds.

They pretend that this plan puts "the purse and the sword" into the hands of the President, when they know it does neither, as it does not give him power to raise a single soldier; the power to lay taxes, raise armies and declare war, remain in Congress, without being in the least degree affected or impaired.

They pretend that this plan will put the public money within the reach of the President, when they know that he can not touch a dollar of it by borrowing or otherwise, without a direct violation of the law, and that under the former system he could borrow it from the banks, to any amount, without any check or control.

They charge the President with hostility to the banks, when their only authority for it is his known hostility

to their abuses. He was their friend while they obeyed the laws, and no longer. The Whigs were their enemies while they obeyed the laws, and no longer.—Their friendship began when his ended. He desires to see them subjected to the laws of the country; they do not; yet they claim to be the special friends of "the Constitution and Laws!" They charge Democracy with being opposed to a *sound currency*, of which they claim to be the exclusive friends; and yet they recommend and sustain the issue of post-notes by the banks, thus defrauding the people and depreciating the currency; while the Democrats insist that banks shall be required, by redeeming their paper on demand, to keep it at all times at par with specie.

They represent the leaders of the Democratic party, as desirous of reducing the price of produce and labor, when their only object is to secure payment to the farmer and laborer in a currency which shall be of a fixed and certain value when they get it, and not liable to become worthless in their pockets.

The President is represented in one place as an Abolitionist, and in another as an advocate of slavery, when in fact he is neither; as an enemy to the right of suffrage, when he was one of the most efficient instruments in procuring its extension; as an enemy to the last war, when he was one of its most decided supporters.

There is indeed scarcely a word of truth in all that is said in the Federal Whig papers about the President, his principles, practices or designs. While they represent every thing about him as selfish and corrupt, there never was in fact, a purer and more disinterested Administration, or one which has kept the rights, interests, liberty and happiness of the people more steadily in view.

#### Federal Candidate for the Presidency.

If deception is the gain of the Federal party in relation to men in power, it is no less so in relation to their own principles, designs and mode of operations. It is well known that a vast majority of that party preferred Henry Clay, and very many of them Daniel Webster, as their candidate for the Presidency. The proud, unbending Federalists the survivors of the John Adams' "reign of terror," preferred Webster, because he was the consistent, unchanged advocate of their ancient principles. Considering Mr. Clay as an apostate Democrat, they never looked upon him with the same confidence or respect. But as Clay was not alone in his apostacy, and the younger members of the Federal party scarcely remembered him as a Democrat, his bold and decisive character gave him advantages over the timid Webster which made him the favorite of the party. But that party had no hope of success upon its principles. Its only chance was to induce, by some controlling motive, a portion of the people who really abhor its principles, to vote for its candidates. The Anti-masonic and Abolition parties presented the only resources from which such auxiliaries were to be expected. The Anti-masons would not vote for Mr. Clay, because he is a Mason; the Abolitionists would not vote for him because he is a slaveholder. A compromise was hit upon.—There was a superannuated man living on the banks of the Ohio, called William Henry Harrison. To the old Federalists he would not be unacceptable, because he was himself a Federalist of the old school; having approved the high-handed measures of John Adams' administration. He was not a Mason nor a slaveholder, so that he could not be peculiarly repugnant to Anti-masons and Abolitionists. He had moreover been a General in the last war with Great Britain, and although he had not achieved "victory of New Orleans," or anything like it, the glowing pens and flaming tongues of Federal Whiggery might be able to magnify him into a hero of the first magnitude, and thus catch a little of that popular enthusiasm which they supposed had raised General Jackson to the chair of state, and sustained him there against all their corruptions, panics, and denunciations. For these reasons, notwithstanding the horror of the Federal Whigs for Military Chieftains, the weak and vain old General was selected by the convention at Harrisburg as the candidate of their party.

And upon what *principles* did this great Convention recommend the support of their "Military Chieftain" to the American people? Upon none whatsoever. They gave to their country no reason for their choice: they published no address setting forth the principles of their candidate and the policy he would pursue, if elevated to the Chief Magistracy. Perhaps the task of doing so was not easy. To catch the votes of Federalists and Democrats, he must appear to be neither the one nor the other. To be voted for by Bank men and anti-Bank men, he must not be committed on that point. To secure the votes of Masons and Anti-masons, he must appear to be neither. But above all, as he was to be the candidate of Slaveholders in the South, and Abolitionists in the North, it would not do to say a word on that subject.

But the precautions of our modern Federalists did not stop here. Some of the freemen of the Republic, not caring to vote in the dark, might take the not unusual liberty in this country, of asking the candidate for their

suffrage, what were his principles in relation to the leading objects now under public discussion, and the old man might thwart the objects of the party by giving honest replies. A committee was, therefore, interposed between him and the people, to prevent their approaching him! They receive letters addressed to him and reply to them; but instead of satisfying the anxious inquiries of an honest people, they tell them that the policy of the committee is:

"**THAT THE GENERAL MAKE NO FURTHER DECLARATION OF HIS PRINCIPLES, FOR THE PUBLIC EYE, WHILEST OCCUPYING HIS PRESENT POSITION.**"

These were the words of *David Grayne, J. C. Wright, and O. M. Spencer*, a committee at Cincinnati, in reply to a friendly letter of inquiry from the Oswego Union Association in this State.

Here we have a candidate for the highest station in the people's gift, cut off from all intercourse with the people, and refusing to answer their honest inquiries in relation to his principles, or even to permit it to be done by others! Whether the old General has willingly interposed this screen between him and the people, or whether his supporters have forced him into this position, for the purpose of concealing as well his incapacity as his principles, it is equally degrading to him and insulting to the freemen on whose votes he relies to place him in the Presidential chair.

And what have we in lieu of that frank and noble interchange of opinion upon subjects of high public concern, between the candidate and the people which becomes a free country, and does now, as it ever has done, distinguish the Democratic leaders and their party?

We have degrading appeals to the presumed ignorance and prejudices of the people, as if they were as debased as bad governments have made the populace of London or Paris. Instead of an address, appealing to high principle as the guide of those who were to rally under the Harrison banner, the Harrisburg Convention evidently projected a simultaneous movement throughout the country, by meetings and conventions, catch-words and devices, to bring to their aid any other faculty of the people, than their reason and good sense. *Glory to the Hero of Tippecanoe* became the shout, and the achievements of Harrison were now, for the first time, celebrated in song, and copious libations of "hard cider" are poured out to this artificial "god of battles." Though living upon a large farm, and enriched by a sinecure office, he was declared to be a poor man, and "the poor man's candidate." His fine frame house was converted into a "log cabin," and the wine with which he refreshes himself, and entertains his guests, was converted into "hard cider." Mimic log cabins, cider barrels, mugs and canoes, graced the processions of Federal Whig conventions, with banners of similar import, and human beings tippling and mauling gingerbread. Degrading themselves and insulting the free and intelligent people of the United States, these assemblages met and dispersed without addresses to the people or any ennobling act or declaration to atone for the fooleries with which they have disgraced themselves and their country. While their candidate is shut up from the people, what rational motives are every where or any where held out to induce them in ignorance of his principles or designs to give him their support. What a feast for the monarchists of Europe will these fooleries afford! How will the character of an American citizen suffer in the eyes of all mankind.

Concealment is necessary to the success of Federalism in the United States. No sooner does it raise its true colors than it is put down by the people.—The monarchists and aristocrats in the days of John Adams, let out their true principles in private circles, but not to the public; and it is remarkable that while volumes of letters written by such Republicans as Franklin and Jefferson, have been given to the world, the private correspondence of such men as Hamilton and Gouverneur Morris has never been permitted to see the light. To say one thing and intend another, is one of the arts by which mankind are subjected to monarchical and aristocratical dominion. But from peculiar circumstances, Harrison cannot speak truth or falsehood without destroying all his chances of success. In the North he is represented as an Abolitionist; in the South as the advocate of slavery. To say he is one or the other, would lose him so much strength as to destroy all hope. He has not therefore, the usual resort of Federalism, to say one thing when it means another, and finds safety only in silence. His condition is much the same in relation to the abuses of the banking system, the tariff, internal improvements, and the public lands. Once saddled upon the backs of a people who have taken him upon faith; or, in the language of his committee, "with something akin to generous confidence," which is in plain English "for better or for worse," he may ride them as he pleases, without violating a declaration or a pledge! But will a free people consent to be thus hoodwinked, saddled, bridled and mounted? Whenever they do, they may beware of the whip and the spur.

#### **ELECTIONEERING BY FEDERAL MEMBERS OF CONGRESS.**

There is another enormous engine at work to mislead the people and induce them blindly to give their

suffrages to the chosen candidate of Federalism.—Recent developments have disclosed the fact, that the Opposition members of Congress, instead of devoting their time to the business of legislation, have constituted themselves into an electioneering association, with their Executive Committee, who are engaged in appointing county committees throughout the Union for mere electioneering purposes. With the compensation allowed them for doing the people's business, they create a fund for printing all sorts of documents, misrepresenting the principles, acts and designs of the Administration, and with the aid of the franking privilege conferred on them for public purposes, they distribute these papers to their county committees and others throughout the Union. Not content with this monstrous abuse of that privilege, they do not hesitate, when convenience requires it, to transcend its legal limits and commit palpable breaches on the laws of the country. In addition to the application of a part of their secret fund to the support of the *Madisonian*, a newspaper printed in Washington, they have undertaken to raise subscribers for it, in various parts of the country, and to send it under their franks. And as it would be inconvenient to frank them in packets of two ounces only, which is the legal limit of a member's ordinary privilege, and as they have the right to frank public documents printed by Congress, without limitation of weight, they endorse "public documents," on these newspaper bundles, and frank them as such. A member may, by filling the mails with all sorts of trash abuse the franking privilege without violating the law; but here is a palpable breach of law, and a fraud on the post-office revenue, in franking a newspaper from a printer to his subscribers, and covering and facilitating the fraud.

What a spectacle is here presented by the Opposition in Congress. Instead of being the honest and faithful representatives of the people, devoted to the duty of making the necessary laws for their country, they have converted themselves into a *privileged committee of electioneers*. By obstructing the public business, and protracting the session of Congress, they get out of the treasury the means to print or buy their electioneering papers, and by an abuse of the franking privilege and violations of the law, they make the Post Office Department convey them, without charge, to the extremes of the Union. Thus the people are made to pay for the abuse and open violation of their own laws and institutions, and at the same time, for the means of delusion, which are intended to induce them to vote for the mute candidate of North Bend, in opposition to the frank Democrat now at the head of the Administration.

Nor should it be forgotten that, while these men promptly voted for an act of appropriation providing, through their own pay, for the means of carrying on his political warfare, they have so obstructed the progress of business, as not only to bring to a stand many objects of great importance in the civil and military service of the country, but that since the first of January last, every Executive and Judicial officer of the Government has been without pay, not because there was no money in the Treasury, but because there was no appropriation.

Will not the people ask themselves, in all seriousness, what a party, who thus abuse their privileges and violate the laws to acquire power, would not do to retain it, if once placed in their hands?

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#### **Necessity of Organization---and its Objects.**

To our Republican fellow-citizens we earnestly recommend the formation of **DEMOCRATIC ASSOCIATIONS** in every township in the country and in every ward in the cities. The objects of these associations should be, not to imitate the Whigs in violating the laws and filling the land with falsehood, but to explain the true principles of Democracy and maintain the rights of the people.

To inculcate without ceasing—that *true Democracy is pure morality*—that *truth* is its only safe weapon, and *justice* its only proper object—that when it resorts to falsehood or fraud, even in retaliation, it strengthens the hands of its enemy, and when it has recourse to violence, except in the last resort, it commits suicide:

That one of its fundamental principles is the **EQUALITY OF MEN IN CIVIL AND POLITICAL RIGHTS**; and that its chief object is to **PRESERVE THAT EQUALITY**:

That the right of every man to use his hands and his head for his own advantage, not infringing upon the rights of other, is the result of this equality:

That to protect every man in the proper use of this right, unobstructed, should be the chief object of legislation:

That the protection of property thus acquired, and the right of the owner to dispose of it according to his will, is, next to the preservation of personal liberty, the first duty of Government:

That facilities for acquiring property cannot be conferred by law on one man or company of men, without giving them undue advantages over other men, and thereby destroying that equality of rights which it is the bounden duty of government to preserve:

That grants by law of special privileges affecting persons or property, to one man or set of men, are at-

tacks upon the rights of person and property of every other man in the community, in principle as subversive of justice as to take one man's labor or property for the use of another, without compensation or equivalent:

That money in the hands of the people is a part of their property, and that a course of legislation, whether in relation to banks or otherwise, which makes money more valuable to-day and less so to-morrow, is an attack on the rights of property, as direct, in principle, as taking one man's property and giving it to another:

That individual debts, State debts and national debts are productive of a condition of dependence destructive of equality among men and freedom of action among States and nations:

That Democracy requires the sacred fulfilment of all existing obligations, but denounces and opposes the abuse of individual credit, the increase of State debts, and the creation of national debt:

That violent changes are not sanctioned by policy or called for by justice; but that by mild and gradual reforms, our government should be brought back to the pure principles and practices from which it has so widely deviated, equality of rights restored among our citizens, the rights of property protected, contracts held sacred, obedience to the laws enforced, and free institutions preserved in substance as well as in form, and the blessings of order, liberty and peace, perpetually entailed upon our glorious and happy country.

Let us particularly enjoin upon you, whether acting individually or in associations, to avoid the recklessness you see and the violence you have reason to apprehend from our desperate opponents. If true Democracy must perish, let it not die by its own hands. If the people see equal recklessness of law, principle and peace on both sides, they will not be able to discriminate the one from the other, or know who are their true friends. It is better, far better, that Whiggery should obtain a temporary triumph, than that Democracy, by imitating its practices, should sacrifice that character, which makes it cherished and confided in by an honest people. But there is no danger of a Federal triumph if but reasonable efforts are made to counteract the arts and exertions of its disciples. The people have an inherent and natural attachment to honesty and truth. Half the exertion devoted to the dissemination of truth, which the Federalists give to the spread of falsehood, will more than counteract all their efforts, and insure to Democracy a glorious victory and a lasting conquest.

To action, Democrats of New York! Meet with truth the falsehoods of the enemy; by organization among yourselves, counteract their extensive organization, which has its centre in Washington, its means in the Treasury, its facilities in the mails, and its hopes in violations of the laws, and delusions of the people. Call out the young to the discussion of your pure principles, and let the old assist by their voice and their counsels; convince every Democrat that his duty to himself, his posterity, his country and mankind, forbids his neutrality in this war of principle and liberty, against profligacy and usurpation. Tell him that he cannot absent himself from the polls without endangering the blood-bought privileges which he has received from his fathers, and is bound by every sacred tie to transmit unimpaired to his children.

#### **Democratic Candidate for the Presidency.**

Though principles should be the reason of the Democrat in all his political controversies, the New York Democrat has an additional incentive to action in **THE MAN** whom he is called on to support as the representative of his principles, at the head of the Government. In singleness of character and uprightness of life, he has no superior. In devotion to principle and firmness of purpose, he has shown himself equal to the true hero whom he has succeeded. Alike unmoved by corruption and terror, he pursues his public career with the calmness of conscious integrity, determined to preserve the purity of the Government and maintain in its administration the principles of Jefferson and Jackson, at whatever hazard to himself. He has shown himself A WORTHY SON OF NEW YORK.

And shall New York abandon her able, honest, frank and devoted son? For whom shall she give up one who does her honor by his principles, his talents, his virtues and his firmness? For a man whose talents are below mediocrity, whose judgment is weak and vacillating, whose vanity is excessive, whose opinions are equivocal, who insults the people whose suffrages he asks by denying them access to him and refusing to answer their reasonable inquiries, who places himself behind a committee, not that *they may announce his principles, but that HE may conceal them!* What motive has this great State to abandon her FAVORITE SON for such a person—not principle—for she knows not, nor is she permitted to know, the principles of the person who is attempted to be imposed upon her? Without the slightest guarantee or pledge connected with principles, she is required to give up her attachments and her principles, and surrender herself hoodwinked and manacled into the hands of a stranger, who has not the talents or the independence to take care of himself!

Surely this is too much to ask of her. For the sacri-

## THE CRISIS.

face of the man of her choice, she should at least have some motive of lofty honor or sound principle to sanctify the act. She should have something more substantial and appropriate than "hard cider," artificial "log cabins" and a *mock hero*—something more satisfactory than that the public shall hear nothing from the Federal candidate in relation to his opinions or his purposes "while occupying his present position."

Confident that in her principles as well as in her pride, New York will find abundant motives to adhere to her honored son, we invite you, nevertheless, to make those exertions and sacrifices which will save her from the disgrace of a different result. With such motives addressed to our people, to exert ourselves, is to be victorious. To action, then! In discussion and action, we have a guarantee of triumph as sure as truth and patriotism can give to mortals.

## CONGRESSIONAL.

SPEECH OF MR. BEDFORD BROWN OF N. C.,  
*On the Expenses of the Government.*

SENATE OF U. S., May 7.

In the last Crisis, we gave the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, along with Mr. Benton's position—we now lay before our readers the lucid Speech of Mr. Brown, the Senator of N. Carolina, who followed in the same Debate.

Mr. BROWN said, that he was not aware that the printing of the important report which had been communicated to the Senate by the Secretary of the Treasury, on the public expenditure, would come up for consideration, until he had taken his seat this morning. When, however, he had heard the Administration and its friends denounced as guilty of extravagance in the expenditure of the public money, by gentlemen in opposition; when he recollects the course which had been pursued by himself and most of his political friends, in regard to appropriations; and when he remembered what had been of the Opposition on the same subject, for years past, in the two Houses of Congress, he could not refrain from expressing the surprise, as well as deep indignation, which he felt. He had occupied a seat in that body for more than ten years, and he could say, without the fear of contradiction, that the Opposition, as a body, in the two Houses of Congress, had aided more, by their votes, to increase the public expenditures, than the friends of the Administration.

When he had first become a member of the Senate, he had found the friends of the Administration of President Jackson anxious to discharge the national debt, which, at the close of the administration of Mr. Adams, amounted to about forty millions, and at the same time in favor of reducing the burdens which an oppressive tariff had imposed on the country. On the other hand he had found the opposition to the administration of President Jackson, who at that time were mostly composed of the miscalled *American System* party, opposed to the immediate discharge of the National Debt, and in favor of the continuance of a high Tariff. The positions then occupied by the two great parties which divided the country at that time on these important questions of national policy, could leave no doubt on the mind of any one, as to who were, and who were not in favor of a system of extravagant expenditure. One of the parties desired to postpone the payment of the national debt, and to keep up their favorite system of high duties. The most easy and obvious way to do this, was to make large and wasteful appropriations of the public money. This was the alinement which alone could keep alive the Tariff and render it a permanent system.

Hence it was that every scheme to expend the public money was devised and brought forward by the *American System* party, at that time, who were mainly in opposition to the Administration of President Jackson, in order to save their favorite system from the doom which inevitably awaited it without some such aid.

To arrest these enormous schemes of extravagance, then brought forward by the Federal party, and which disregarded alike the bounds of moderation and the limits of the Constitution, the veto power was repeatedly resorted to by the Executive. For having thus interposed the authority with which he was clothed, to save the Constitution from total overthrow, and the nation from being burdened with an oppressive tariff and a permanent system of extravagant expenditure, some of the very party who are now such lovers of economy in *profession*, pronounced him an arbitrary tyrant, who deserved to be brought to the block. If their system had prevailed, the large national debt remaining unpaid at the close of the administration of Mr. Adams, would probably continue to exist at this day, and an annual expenditure far larger than the present, would have been permanently fixed on the country.

The extravagant degree to which the pension system had been carried at that time, was a consequence of the same policy, and was carried mainly by the votes of the same party. The bill to pension the militia, which had drawn so many millions from the Treasury, was reported by an opposition Senator; and while candor compelled him to admit that a large portion of the friends of the Administration voted for that measure, yet it was supported still more unanimously by the Ame-

rican System party, whose motives, it was believed, were not exclusively those of patriotic respect and regard for the venerable men of the Revolution, but partook largely of a regard for the tariff, which could be kept up alone by large expenditure. He remembered the very great ability with which this measure had been opposed by the late General Hayne, then a member of that body—to whose great worth and eminent talents, he availed himself, with great pleasure of that occasion to offer the humble tribute of his sincere admiration.

Besides opposing it upon the ground that it was a departure from the principles on which the system was originally established, and which was intended to apply only to that class of officers and soldiers, who having abandoned the pursuits of private life, had made arms a profession, and not to the mere citizen soldier, who had been called into public service for short periods, he considered the extension of the system as favoring a part of that great scheme of permanent public expenditure which the American System party then meditated and were endeavoring to fix upon the country, as a part of our national policy.

He (Mr. B.) had deemed his duty to vote against this measure, which, in addition to the pension system before in operation, had, the very first year that it went into effect, taken from the public Treasury near four millions and a half of dollars. He had opposed, together with a majority of his political friends in the two Houses of Congress, that other important branch of the American System, appropriations for harbors and Internal Improvements, together with the numerous other contrivances, by which that party had uniformly endeavored to increase the public expenditures. He admitted that a portion of his political friends were not free from censure in this respect, who by occasionally acting with the American System party, had in some instances, enabled them to carry out their policy.

But what he mainly complained of was, that the very party who had forced a policy upon the country, which, for a series of years, had brought into the Treasury millions of dollars beyond its wants, and thus rendered its expenditures, in some way or other, either in the shape of appropriations or of deposits with the States, a matter of absolute necessity—for it could not remain idle in the public Treasury—that they, the very party who had forced this policy on the country, and who were, on every fair principle, to be considered as the authors of the mischiefs consequent on it, were now, in order to answer political purposes, endeavoring to hold others responsible for that which they themselves were truly answerable to the country. Again; what he complained of was, the disingenuous means resorted to by those now endeavoring to break down the present Administration; and who, scrupling at nothing to effect their object, endeavored to hold others accountable for that very extravagance, which the journals of the two Houses of Congress would incontrovertibly show had been mainly brought about by their own votes, from the commencement of President Jackson's administration down to the present period.

The small number of the journals of the two Houses of Congress which were annually printed, and the consequent difficulty that the great body of the people had to encounter in arriving at the truth in regard to the votes of the respective political parties in Congress, had furnished a great facility to the Opposition, to practice the impositions on this subject, and to pass off those flagrant misrepresentations on the people, which had been so extensively resorted to in the present contest between parties. A reference, however, to the distinctive principles which had for years past so clearly marked the two parties in this country, would shed a volume of light on this subject, and would not fail to inform the people who have been, and who now are the friends of extravagant expenditure.

The great mass of the Opposition party, with the exception of some of their Southern allies, have been, and continue to be, friends of a high Tariff, and an unlimited construction of the Constitution, embracing the power to make all kinds of extravagant and unauthorized appropriations. These doctrines plainly indicate the motives operating on those who possess them, to favor a large system of expenditure, and can leave no doubt, even if other evidence were absent, as to the party whose policy, whose interests, and whose votes, have all combined to swell the public expenditures. In this way it has hoped to keep up the former Tariff, and in this way it is hoped to create the necessity for a new one.

On the other hand, (said Mr. B.) the great mass of the friends of the past and present Administrations have been and continue to be, opposed to a system of high duties, and are in favor of a limited construction of the Constitution of the United States. Here, then, are unerring tests by which to try the two political parties, in regard to the question of extravagance—tests, even if recorded evidence could not be adduced, that distinctly point out to the people of the U. S. the real enemies of an economical administration of the Government, and those who are friendly to such an administration of the public finances.

But, fortunately for the cause of truth and of justice, if the journals of Congress could not be circulated every where to put down these gross misrepresentations, which were persevered in with so much industry, and in a manner which utterly set at naught all moral restraints, they were to be found here, and furnished the most conclusive condemnation of those who were most clamorous in charging the friends of the Administration with extravagance.

Mr. B. distinctly charged that the Opposition as a body, in both Houses of Congress, had not only voted for all the large appropriation bills—such as those to the support of the civil, military, and naval service of the country; but he charged further, that they had voted for many other bills proposing extravagant expenditures, some of which had been carried through the two Houses, and others of which had been checked by Democratic votes. He would instance, among those which had become laws, that for the relief of the cities of Washington, Georgetown, and Alexandria, passed at the session of 1834-35, appropriating near a million of dollars, and which received a much larger proportion of Opposition than of Administration votes in that body. Among those which had been voted for by the Opposition generally in the Senate, and with but few exceptions, while on the other hand it was voted against by a large majority of the friends of the Administration, was the bill proposing to appropriate five millions of dollars for the benefit of claimants on account of French spoliations prior to 1800. This claim had for years been before Congress, and repeatedly rejected, on the ground of its alleged injustice, and yet it received the sanction of an Opposition Senate, and would have become a law if it had not been defeated by a House of Representatives friendly to the Administration.

Mr. B. said he had adverted to these two specimens of *economy*, as practised by the Opposition, not because there were none others—for the journals of Congress abounded with proofs of the same kind, against them, in regard to the public expenditures—but he had referred to them as conspicuous commentaries on their conduct, and to show how far they were entitled to set up an exclusive title to guardianship over the public treasure.

The Senator from South Carolina [Mr. Preston] had said that the Administration should be held responsible for the public expenditures, because they had been, for many years, in a majority in the two Houses of Congress. He differed very far from that Senator on that subject. He had seldom, if at all, seen the time, from the commencement of the administration of President Jackson to the present time, when its friends were in a majority in both Houses—he meant friends who were to be relied on, not *professed* friends. The votes of the two Houses of Congress on the *veo* messages against internal improvement bills, and the vote of the two Houses of Congress, several sessions afterwards, on the *veo* message against rechartering the Bank of the U. S., showed that a majority was against the administration of President Jackson, at least on those important questions, though that majority was not large enough to carry those measures, in opposition to the Executive negative. The Senate had afterwards given practical evidence, that it did not contain a majority of his political friends, by the vote of censure which it had passed against him. He would add, that during the two or three years in which the Opposition had the political power in that body, the contingent expenses were greatly increased beyond those of any former year. In the other branch of Congress, the present Administration had been in a minority on the great financial question of separating the Government from the banks, from the time that measure had been proposed, until the present session.

With what justice, then, said Mr. B., could it be said that the present and past Administrations should be held responsible for the increase of the public expenditure, in the face of the fact that a majority of one or the other of the two Houses of Congress have generally been against them—in the face of the fact that, for years past, the appropriations by Congress have exceeded, by many millions, the sums asked for by the Administration—and with the other and still more important fact within their knowledge, that the Opposition vote has generally been given to swell expenditure, instead of being given to check it. When he spoke of the Opposition, he meant to be understood as speaking of them as a body, and not as intending to include every single individual of which that party was composed.

The Senator from South Carolina had, said Mr. B., objected to the printing of the extra number of copies of the Report of the Secretary of the Treasury, explanatory of the public expenditures, and of the items which constituted them.

[Mr. PRESTON here rose to explain, and said, he had not opposed the printing of the Report.]

Mr. BROWN resumed, and said, that he did not know whether the gentleman intended to vote against the printing of the Report or not, but his whole argument was of that character. He had charged, that it was

extravagance to order the number of copies for the public which had been moved. He had charged, that it was an *ex parte* document—objections to which, if true, were certainly such as went to deny the propriety of printing it. The document contained a plain and simple statement of the public expenditures, and the objects for which they were made, from the year 1824 to that of 1839, inclusive.

It was a document furnished on the call of the Senate, and its accuracy was vouched for, by the high official character of the Secretary, who had sent it to us in obedience to our requirement. Are gentlemen on the opposite side afraid for the people to have light on this subject? Are they apprehensive that it will counteract the dishonest and fraudulent misrepresentations, which have been spread far and wide, and in every direction, through the country, in regard to the public expenditure? Was there an Opposition member of either House of Congress, who, when he rose in his place and asserted that the expenditures for the year 1837 had amounted to the sum of thirty-nine millions, did not know that he was making a gross misrepresentation to go forth to the country? Was it not known, at the same time, by those who uttered those declarations, that indemnities which had been secured by treaty, from foreign Governments, for the benefit of our merchants, and which formed no part of the public fund, but belonged to private claimants, amounting to considerably more than four millions of dollars, made part of that sum? Could they be ignorant that funds amounting to largely more than a million of dollars, held in trust by the Government, for certain Indian tribes, and which had been invested for their benefit, by authority of law, formed also a part of that thirty-nine millions charged by them against the Administration, as expenditure? And again: were those who made these declarations, and charges of extravagance, ignorant that the aggregate amount of expenditure for that year, for permanent and ordinary purposes, excluding payments on account of objects either extraordinary or temporary, amounted to but little more than thirteen millions, agreeably to the official report then before them? He had selected this year, because it had been especially singled out by the Opposition as one of the highest appropriations. Much of that amount, however, constituted no expenditure in reality, as a large amount of the money paid out that year, as he had already shown, formed no part of the public funds, and a larger portion of the residue consisted of appropriations for extraordinary and temporary objects—such as the removal of Indians and the suppression of Indian hostilities—that would make no part of the permanent expenses of the Government hereafter.

Mr. B. said, that he had therefore heard, with utter amazement, the declaration which, at different times, had been in the two Houses of Congress, and which had been so eagerly propagated by every bank-bought press in the country, that the expenditures of the Government had, for the year to which he alluded, been run up to the sum of thirty-nine millions. Gentlemen might differ with each other in regard to public measures, and every charitable allowance should be made for such differences of opinion; but in regard to facts, plainly and easily ascertainable, no such indulgent consideration should be extended.

He held that it was a violation of the principles of moral honesty in those who, with a full knowledge of these misrepresentations, gave them sanction and countenance. If it were done without such knowledge, then it betrayed great ignorance of public duty. Nor was this the only aggravating circumstance of the case.—The very party who were, in a great degree, the perpetrators of the mischief, and who were themselves the greatest offenders against the principles of economy, were now loudest in raising the charge against the Administration, for that very extravagance which their own votes had so materially aided in bringing about.—It was, however, perfectly characteristic of the political morality of the Federal party of the present day. Determined to attain power, if possible, it neither scruples at the means, nor hesitates to employ any plan which promises success to its partisans. The moral sense of the country, and the principles of liberty which yet exist in it, cannot fail to measure out the proper degree of reprobation for the outrage thus offered to the former, and the dangerous assault made upon the latter.

The Opposition had, in some quarters, even set down the sum appropriated for the Post Office Department, as expenditure, which had, for several years past, amounted to near five millions. The revenue arising from that Department having been directed by a late law, to be paid into the public Treasury, it consequently required an appropriation before it could be returned to it again. Thus, it would be seen, that simply because a late law had directed the funds of that Department to pass through the public Treasury, which was not formerly the case, it was made another ground on which the Opposition were to build up the charge of extravagance.

The Senator from South Carolina had, in the review of the condition of the country with which he had favored the Senate, asked, with much emphasis, whether

the Indian relations of our country were in any better condition than they were before President Jackson came into office. The great success which had attended the policy of that Administration with respect to that subject, and the immense benefits which had resulted to the country from it, furnished the best answer to this question, and afforded the most triumphant vindication of the system which had been adopted. The administration of President Adams had offered the State of Georgia the bayonets of a regular soldiery, and threatened her with the calamities of a civil war, because she dared assert her rights of sovereignty over the Indian tribes within her limits. In exchange for these, said Mr. B., the administration of President Jackson, the policy of which had been carried out successfully by the present Executive, had secured her rights, had given her peace and tranquillity on this embarrassing question, and had removed beyond her borders the powerful Indian tribes that had inhabited so large a portion of her territory. In the benefits of this policy, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Alabama, had also participated. Many other States of this Confederacy had likewise experienced the beneficial effects of this policy, by the removal of savage tribes beyond their limits. The past Administration and the present had accomplished more in relieving the States from that kind of population, than all others together, which had preceded them. It had not been money thrown away, but money well laid out.

Besides the great benefits resulting to the States themselves, the Government of the U. S., on a mere question of pecuniary calculation, would be found to be a gainer, by many millions, from the immense bodies of valuable lands which it had in that way acquired, and the sales of which would go to enrich the public Treasury.

But when gentlemen, said Mr. B., thought proper to make a serious charge against the Administration on account of the money expended in removing Indians, and in defending the country against Indian hostilities—expenditures for which the votes of their own party would be found recorded in the journals of the two Houses of Congress—he could not refrain from expressing the opinion, long and deliberately entertained by him, that their own party had much to answer to the country for, on this subject. He declared in his place his most solemn conviction that the course which had been taken by a part of the Opposition, from the commencement of the administration of President Jackson, and which had been for years after persevered in, with respect to the Indian tribes, had been the cause of the Government having to pay nearly double what it otherwise would have paid for the treasuries which had been concluded with them. A portion of the Opposition had appeared to consider the Indian tribes under their especial guardianship. The Indians were told by missionaries who went among them, and who were opposed to the policy of their removal, that the Government was endeavoring to impose upon them, and defraud them of their possessions, without adequate compensation. The same language was held in the two Houses of Congress by members standing high in the ranks of the Opposition. This had been their course more particularly in regard to the Cherokee Indians, whose chief had been treated at the seat of Government, by some of them, almost with the consideration of foreign ministers, and who were taught to believe, from the same source, that they had a right to establish an independent Government in the very bosoms of those States which they inhabited.—That this course of the Opposition had led those chiefs to make the most exorbitant demands on the Government, he had not the least doubt. The consequence was, that their demands had to be complied with, or the most fatal and disastrous results would have followed the further continuance of that tribe in the State of Georgia.

When, therefore, gentlemen dwell so much on this class of expenditures, (said Mr. B.) let them remember the language and course of their own partisans, in Congress and elsewhere, on the policy pursued by the present and past Administrations in regard to the Indian tribes. Was it then at all a matter of surprise, that consequences, such as he had described, should have resulted from the interference of political missionaries with these tribes, and from the denunciations constantly uttered here against Indian treasuries, as founded in fraud and injustice? Nay, more: was it a matter of surprise that, instigated by such influences, the tomahawk and scalping knife of the Seminole had gleamed in Florida, and yet continued to devastate her fair fields?

The Senator, in his zeal to denounce the Administration, had reminded us of what he had chosen to designate the bankruptcy of the Government at the called session of 1837, and of its inability to meet the public engagements. And why was it bankrupt, if the gentleman prefers that term? It was because of the suspension of specie payments by the banks, the political allies of the Senator and his friends, who were entrusted with the public funds, and the seizure by them of more than twenty millions of the public revenue. By having thus withheld the public revenue from the Go-

vernment, when its necessities required it, the banks had not only violated the most sacred obligations, which they undertook to perform, but they had committed an act of moral treason against the people of the U. S., which threatened to arrest the action of the Government at the time, and might, at a more critical period of public affairs, have brought irreparable injury on the country.

These corporations, continued Mr. B., scattered throughout our wide extended country, are now acting with the Senator and his party, and are co-operating with them to overthrow the present Democratic Administration, in order to substitute one in its stead more congenial to their notions of privilege and of power.—While gentlemen rose in their places here, and proclaimed that the Administration had, by its measures, brought the present pecuniary distress on the country, and which charge was reiterated by every bank-bought press throughout the land, the banking corporations—their great political allies in this contest—were applying the screws to the people to aid in making the charge the more effectual. No, sir, it is not the Administration that has produced a decline of prices and pecuniary distress, but it is the secret and invisible, but powerful, hand of the moneyed and banking power, that has inflicted the blow, and which has made itself to be felt throughout our entire country. It is now in the process of carrying out that oft-repeated maxim, in the political creed of the Federal party, and which is so revolting to the principles of freemen—that the people must be made to feel, before they can be brought to their senses. In other words, that the spirit of freedom must be conquered before the people can be made to submit to the despotism of banking corporations, that now aspire to govern them and the country.

The pecuniary distress of the country was easily accounted for, and could, with no reason or justice, be imputed to the measures of the Administration, however it might suit the purposes of political partisans to ascribe it to that cause. Ever since banks had been established in this country, an expansion of paper had always produced an apparent prosperity, and a rise in prices, while a contraction had uniformly caused the very opposite effects. This had been the history of those corporations under all Administrations, and was undoubtedly the true cause of the present pecuniary difficulties.

The warfare (said Mr. B.) which had been waged unrelentingly against the people of this country by the moneyed power and banking corporations, under the command of Federal politicians, had commenced near eight years ago: since which time they had endeavored to harass the country in every possible way, as he believed to accomplish its subjugation to their purposes of governing it. The time which this warfare had been carried on against the country and its Republican institutions, very nearly correspond with that which a foreign monarch employed in the attempt to conquer and enslave it. He trusted that the same noble spirit of resistance that had defended and saved the country then from the tyranny of a foreign power, would again save it from the merciless grasp of a moneyed despotism. The struggle was a most important one to the country, and would be decisive of its political fate, for years to come, if not forever.

It had been predicted, (remarked Mr. B.) more than two years since, by a distinguished individual of that body, as well as by others, that a second bank suspension would take place just in time to do good service in behalf of their political allies, that they might profit by it in the Presidential election. This prediction had been realized, and all the mighty influences which the pressure and pecuniary distress, consequent on such a state of things, produced, were now to be employed to defeat the Democratic party. He would exhort them, in the name of the Constitution, to stand firm. He would exhort them, as they valued the liberty and independence of their country, once more to rally in this last great and decisive conflict between parties, and overthrow this formidable coalition that now contended for mastery over the country. One more defeat, and their banking allies would cease to harass the country for political purposes. The coalition of politicians, which had acted with them, would be disbanded, and the principles of free Government would be firmly re-established.

The great question to be decided, in the present conflict between parties, was one, in his estimation, far transcending, in importance, mere questions of temporary policy; it was a question that, in his opinion, went to the very form and principles of our Government; it was a question, whether the people should continue to rule themselves, or were to be ruled by banking corporations. It had often been exultingly proclaimed, in this chamber, during the present session, and again had been distinctly intimated in the course of the present debate, that a change in the administration of the Government was near at hand, which was to be followed by all the blessings, so unsparingly and delusively promised by those who sought to attain power. And what were the blessings, he would ask, that this change, now anticipated with so much joy, was likely to confer

on the country? What benefit could the people hope for, by the coming into power of an Administration, formed by a coalition of Bank, Abolition, and high Tariff parties? These were political elements, destructive to the peace and happiness of the country, the liberties of the people and the union of the States.

It formed a subject for the most momentous consideration of the people in every part of the country, but more particularly for those of the Southern portions of this Confederacy.

Mr. B. pronounced it as his deliberate opinion, that the success of the Federal party, under existing circumstances, would be practically a revolution in our Republican form of Government. With the mighty energies and influence of near eight hundred banks, penetrating every part of our country, added to the patronage of the Government of the United States, their power would be irresistible, and their authority would be permanently established over the country. The great right of suffrage, by this mighty influence, brought to bear on it, would be overwhelmed, and rendered utterly unavailing to check their tyranny, and to expel them from power. The Democratic principle would be struck down, and would not probably for a half century, if ever again, recover control of the Government. These were subjects addressing themselves to the most solemn considerations of those in our country, who wished to preserve our Republican institutions.

The most extraordinary means were resorted to, at this time, for the purpose of effecting this change. The miserable pageantries which the Federal party had attempted to play off, in every part of the country, for the purpose of operating on and deluding the people, were an insult and a contempt to American freemen, and a virtual denial of their intelligence and capacity for self-government. They were appeals, not made to their reason and patriotism, but to the most degraded prejudices. They were of the same character, and designed to have the same effect, with the public games and exhibitions, given by artful demagogues, who intended to enslave the people, in the most degenerate days of the Roman Republic. They were means better suited to be used by the privileged orders of Europe, to amuse and keep in subjection their serfs, than to convince the understandings of high-minded and intelligent freemen. He appreciated too highly both the virtue and intelligence of the American people, to believe for a moment that they could be deluded and imposed on by such miserable attempts at deception and imposition.

Mr. B. said that he had spoken freely and plainly on the present occasion. The crisis demanded that no one, who wished to perpetuate the liberties of his country, should shrink from the performance of his duty. Accented by these sentiments, he had been induced to make the remarks which he had, on that occasion, felt himself called on to submit to the Senate.

(From the Indianapolis Democrat, May 9.)

We have now another and further evidence that Gen. Harrison, when Governor of the Indiana Territory, signed and approved a law to SELL WHITE MALES AND WHITE FEMALES. And still further, if the male or female sold should abscond from his or her master, (even if his or her master was a black) and be retaken, on conviction of so absconding, he or she should be WHIPPED WITH THIRTY-NINE STRIPES. What think the people of such a law? Gen. Harrison had an absolute veto upon all the laws passed by the territorial Legislature; and yet he signed and approved this horrid law. To think that a female, for a petty offence, could be sold to a black, and if she should abscond and be retaken, that she must receive THIRTY-NINE LASHES for running away from a negro—how revolting! And yet Mr. Harrison is the candidate of the Federal party, and expects the votes of freemen for approving and signing such a horrid law.

But this is not all. Gen. Harrison signed and approved a law prohibiting any one from voting unless he had a freehold estate.

The original law is now in the office of the Secretary of State. Many already have called and seen the law, and the name of W. H. Harrison signed to the law. The same law will be found in the revised code of 1807. As our columns are full, we refrain from further comments, and republish the following article from the Madisonian Courier:

#### SELLING FREE MEN AS SLAVES IN THE STATE OF INDIANA.

*Blue Light Laws of the West—General Harrison in favor of selling Freemen in Indiana—against allowing the right of suffrage to the Poor Man unless possessed of a Property Qualification! &c., &c.*

Much has been said in defense of the charge against Gen. Harrison of voting in the Senate of Ohio to sell free white men as slaves; and General Harrison's own letter of denial and exculpation, have been extensively published.—The charge, however, remains well established, and as long as the records of the Senate of Ohio, shall continue to exist, so long must the testimony to establish this charge be perpetuated. (See journal of the Senate of Ohio of January the 20th,

1821, attested by Carter B. Harlan, Secretary of State.) Extracts from this journal will be found below, and although they may have been published a thousand times, yet they ought, together with the excellent Speech of Gov. Lucas, on the same subject, to be printed again.

But we have resumed this subject to show, that this action of the Ohio Legislature with all its odiousness, was an old acquaintance of Gen. Harrison, and had no new horrors to present to his mind; for, while Governor of "the Territory of Indiana," he approved and signed "An act Respecting Crimes and Punishments;" containing sections more odious than the section for which he voted in the Ohio Senate; more odious, inasmuch as it made an escape from this most degrading and humiliating servitude, a criminal offence, punishable with WHIPPING, in full measure, of THIRTY-NINE STRIPES!! and with a double servitude as to time. (See Territorial Laws, Revised Code of 1807, pages 39 and 40—sections 30 and 31.)

"SEC. 30. When any person or persons shall on conviction of any crime or breach of penal law, be sentenced to pay a fine or fines, with or without the costs of prosecution, it shall and may be lawful for the court before whom such conviction shall be had, [ ] to order the Sheriff to SELL or hire the person or persons so convicted, to service, to any person or persons who will pay the said fine and cost for such term of time as the court will think reasonable.

"And if such person or persons, or so sentenced and hired or sold, shall abscond from the service of his or her master or mistress, before the term of such service shall be expired, he or she so absconding, shall on conviction before a justice of the peace, be WHIPPED WITH THIRTY-NINE STRIPES!! and shall moreover serve two days for every one so lost.

"SEC. 31. The judges of the several courts of record in this territory shall give this act in charge to the Grand Jury, at each and every court, in which a grand jury shall be sworn.

"JESSE B. THOMAS,  
"Speaker of the House of Representatives.  
"B. CHAMBERS,  
"President of the Senate.

"Approved—September 17th, 1807.

"WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

But was Gov. Harrison at this time clothed with the veto power? his friends will ask. Aye, he was: he was more amply than the Executive of any State of this Union was. See the "Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the U. S., Northwest of the River Ohio." This ordinance may be found in all of our revised laws from 1794 inclusive to the present day. We quote from it the following words:

"And all bills having passed by a majority of the Council, shall be referred to the Governor; for his dissent, but no bill or legislative act whatever, shall be of any force without his assent."

His veto was absolute. No law could pass without his "assent," though every member of the House of Representatives and the Council might desire it most ardently.

Mr. Van Buren has been, by the Whig press, most grossly misrepresented and slandered in relation to his votes and opinions in the New York Convention in 1821. He has been falsely stated to have favored a property qualification to entitle white men to vote. Let us see what were Gov. Harrison's opinions on that subject in 1807. (See same Revised Code, page 235—6.)

"It is therefore enacted, That every free male inhabitant of the age of 21 years, resident in the Territory, and who hath been a citizen of any State in the Union, or who hath been two years resident in this Territory, [ ] AND HOLDS A FREEHOLD IN FIFTY ACRES OF LAND, [ ] within any county of the same, or any less quantity in the county in which he shall reside, which with the improvement made thereon, shall be of the value of [ ] ONE HUNDRED DOLLARS, [ ] or who has paid for, and in virtue of a deed of conveyance for further assurance from a person vested with the fee, is in actual possession of fifty acres of land subject to taxation in the county in which he shall be resident, shall be, and are hereby declared to be duly qualified electors of Representatives for the counties in which they are respectively resident.

\* \* \* \* \*

JESSE B. THOMAS,  
"Speaker of the House of Representatives.  
"B. CHAMBERS,  
"President of the Council.

Approved—September 17th, 1807.

"WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON."

And did Governor Harrison approve and sign this?—And do his friends still clamor about any thing Mr. Van Buren did, or could have done on this subject?

Oh, shame!!! where is thy blush?

But General Harrison is the poor man's friend, though he could not let industrious persons vote unless he had the requisite number of acres; though he sanctioned a law to sell the poor man to the highest bidder as a SLAVE!—a state than which none is more horrible and degrading, and to which death would be cheerfully preferred by American freemen. General Harrison is,

however, the "log cabin and hard cider" candidate for the Presidency. This will do.

We are sorry that room presents us from laying any more of these *Harrisonian Democratic Blue Light Laws of the West* before our readers for the moment. In the mean time, they may rest assured that we will resume the subject as soon as possible.

RICHMOND, Va., SATURDAY, MAY 23.

"A wise and frugal Government which shall restrain men from injuring one another; shall leave them otherwise free to regulate their own pursuits of industry and improvement; and shall not take from the mouth of labor the bread it has earned. This is the sum of good government.—MR. JEFFERSON'S INAUGURAL ADDRESS.

Views of the Presidential Election.  
Addressed to the People of Virginia.

PREFACE.

You have just passed through one struggle, Fellow-Citizens, only to plunge into another of more vital importance. The Spring races are scarcely over, before it is time to prepare for the sweepstakes in the Fall. Whatever be the result of the recent contest, we are now fully aware of the difficulties, which we have encountered. But most of these will not operate against us in November. Our adversaries will be stripped of the power which they have so eagerly exerted—of giving double and treble votes. The towns will not then control the surrounding counties. No voter can vote but once—and a vote on the sea shore will tell equally with a vote in the Valley or on the margin of the Ohio. The Opposition vote of Richmond has with its immense sweep carried the counties of Hanover, and Caroline, and Powhatan, and Buckingham—but those duplicated votes of our cities will be superseded by the operation of the general Ticket.—We might even have surmounted these difficulties, but for the unparalleled means, the gross misrepresentations, the miserable humbugs, which the Opposition have brought into play. The humbug of the Standing Army, and the details of the Militia Bill have particularly operated upon us with a tremendous force. The details of the bill and the insidious use which has been made of them, have contributed, more than any other cause, to snatch a brilliant victory from our hands. But the day of delusion is rapidly passing away. The time is coming, when it will be shown, upon the highest authority, that the President has not sanctioned the Secretary's bill. The details of the measure were called for by a resolution of the House—addressed directly to Mr. Poindexter, and the answer was sent directly by him to the House. Such has been the uniform practice of the Government in similar cases.—The Secretary makes the Report, and he alone is responsible for its propositions.—But not only will this truth be made manifest to the people, but the extraordinary expedients to which the Federalists have resorted, and the variety of delusions which they have practised upon the People, will be dissipated before the Fall. The Opposition are over acting their parts; and the Voters are turning with generous indignation from the arts of a Party, who would deceive them in order to subdue them.

Can it escape your penetration, that the Opposition are attempting to lead you blindfold to the polls.—Their candidate is contented to play the part of a mute. He is afraid to answer interrogatories, or to explain his principles—lest in satisfying one portion of this motley Opposition, he may offend the prejudices of another. They have shrank from the light of truth. They will neither explain their own opinions, nor will they permit their candidate to express his own. They put forth no Address at Harrisburg, or at Baltimore—and, instead of attempting to convince your understandings, they pay you the poor compliment of appealing to your senses. It is their trick to get up imposing processions, and all the contemptible mummery of hard cider and log cabins. They are attempting to play off every species of machinery upon the country.—Travelling Missionaries, Tippecanoe Clubs scattered through the State, and the franking privilege expanded to every variety of purpose, are actively enlisted in their behalf, and must be boldly counteracted on our own parts. If, then, by all their arts and all their delusions, they have obtained any sort of advantage over us, we have it now in our power to checkmate them. We are forewarned, and we must be forearmed.

And when did you, fellow-citizens, ever have stronger motives to call forth all your enthusiasm? The principles of the enemy are as dangerous, as their means are odious. If their vile stratagems are calculated to awaken all the generous indignation which can animate your bosoms, the justice of your cause ought still more to excite you to the most strenuous exertions of which you are susceptible. You have no common contest before you. You are contending for all the great principles of Virginia. You are warring against that latitudinous construction of the Constitution which not only generates the most baleful measures, but may ultimately strike at the heart of the Union itself.

This is indeed no common election. The issues which it involves are those of political life and death. Take William H. Harrison as your President, and you place your destinies in the hands of such politicians as

Henry Clay and Daniel Webster. The Presidential Office will be put in commission—for, as Gen. Harrison is now in the custody of a "Confidential Committee," so when, he is elected, will he fall into the hands of those ambitious leaders, who will control his cabinet and regulate his councils. His inferior intellect will succumb to the influence of their superior minds; and his principles will conspire with their wishes to extend the powers of the government, to establish a National Bank, to enlarge the Tariff, and to carry out an immense system of "Internal Improvements." But the evil does not even stop here. The fell spirit of Abolition will be encouraged by this success to put on bolder airs, and to advance higher pretensions. William Henry Harrison cannot be elected without the votes of the Fanatics of Ohio and New York. He is the candidate of the Abolitionists. He is a Federalist in his principles. Is this the man, whom the good people of Virginia will select as their Chief Magistrate? We ask you to take nothing upon trust. We ask for none of that "generous confidence," which his Conscience-keepers have asked for him. We will enter into a regular discussion of his merits and principles. We will support our propositions by *proofs*. We will quote chapter and verse. In a series of Nos. (of which one will be published every week,) we shall investigate freely and fully the comparative principles and pretensions of the candidates for the Presidential chair. We shall sift the politics of the "Military Chieftain." We shall appeal to the record of his own acts or declarations. Never have we felt more profoundly penetrated with the magnitude of the subject, which we have undertaken to discuss. All that we beg of a free people, is "to hear us for our cause."

## FOR THE CRISIS.

WHIG DECEPTION—EXTRAVAGANCE. The late election, like its predecessors, has had its share of panics. The three great points of attack, and which have been the fruitful source of deception, misrepresentation and delusion, were:

1. The alleged extravagance of the Administration;
2. The Standing Army humbug;
3. The hard times and *coming* ruin, by reducing the price of the poor man's labor down to nine cents per day, charged to Mr. Van Buren.

Upon each of these heads, did hundreds of Federal political spouters, from day to day, harangue the people of Virginia, for more than a month before the election. Thousands of panic speeches have been howled forth, to delude and alarm the voters. But the smoke and confusion of the combat, is now fast clearing away, and with them are dispersing the thousand false terrors conjured up by Federal missionaries, and there can be no doubt the future will bring, as heretofore, a withering re-action against the cause of this reckless, panic-making party.

No topic has been a more prolific source of deception, than the cry of extravagance against Mr. Van Buren's administration. Let us dwell upon this topic a few moments.

It is a well-known fact, that the late and present Administrations, with all their alleged extravagance, have paid off some seventy or eighty millions of public debt, and have deposited with the States—say rather, given to the States—28 millions of dollars more; and, at the same time, the people's taxes from customs—the only tax paid by the people to the General Government, have been reduced from about 223 millions of dollars to about 14 millions of dollars, and are yet in the course of further reduction. They have also acquired, and added to the national domain, and nearly paid for 116,000,000 acres of valuable lands, within the States and Territories. What overwhelming evidence do these facts afford of mismanagement and extravagance!!

But, say the Whigs, the expenditure of the Government have been raised from 13 millions of dollars under Mr. Adams, to 40 millions under Mr. Van Buren. This assertion is in every point of view false. The expenditures of J. Q. Adams's administration, in 1828, were about 25 millions—The expenditures of the present Administration, have never reached 40 millions, and have never more than a trifle exceeded 38 millions. Here, then, is an error against the Administration of 14 millions! Is not this error deliberately and wilfully made for deception? But, say the Whigs, let us explain how 10 millions of that sum were applied by Mr. Adams. O yes! let the Whigs alone for explanations! They are ever prompt to explain matters relating to an iniquitous Federal Administration! Why so ready to explain in the one case, and so diligent to keep back the truth in the other?—But to the explanation. We will cheerfully receive it, only reserving to ourselves the same right to explain. The Whig explanation then is, that 10 millions were paid by Mr. Adams towards the public debt. Very good. Admitted. Now hear the other side. Was there no debt under the present Administration? There was something quite near akin to it. Gen. Jackson's wise and masterly diplomacy abroad, had obtained for our citizens many millions of dollars from foreign nations, long due for spoliations upon our commerce.—This money was in the course of reception when Mr. Van Buren came into office. The Government was the

receiving agent for its citizens, and for them received in 1838, about \$5,000,000. This had to pass into the Treasury, and became a *debt*, and could only pass out again, except as appropriated by law. Thus was created an item of five millions of *extravagance*, for economical Whigs to prate about, when this sum was only paid over to its proper owners.—Again: In 1828, the Post Office Department had a separate organization.—Its monies were received and disbursed by the Postmaster-General, upon his own responsibility, and were not estimated as any part of the expences of the Government. But, during the last term of Gen. Jackson's administration, this department was re-organized, and its whole revenue has since been paid into the Treasury, and of course has added near five millions more to the apparent extravagance of this Administration.—These two items alone amount to about 10 millions, which, strictly speaking, are no expenditures at all—the Post Office always paying out about the same sum it pays into the Treasury. Thus, a few more words of explanation would wipe off another 10 millions of responsibility from Mr. Van Buren's Administration, with just as much satisfaction to reasonable men, as the Whig explanation did Mr. Adams's 10 millions.

Let us now suppose a case. Suppose Mr. Adams suddenly to have been made President in 1838, to have still his \$25,000,000 to pay for the same objects and purposes as in 1828, when he was really the head of the Government. Ten years of time had rolled away, and brought with it a share of change in the circumstances of affairs. For these changes he is not responsible, and from them he cannot escape. The population of the country has greatly increased. He finds both Houses of Congress much larger than in 1827. The necessary labor of each department of the Government has, in consequence proportionably augmented. He finds our commerce abroad has been much extended, and claims a vastly more extended national naval protection. He finds, what he had in vain tried to effect, had been happily accomplished by his successor, namely, our long-suffering citizens had obtained their just dues from foreign nations. He finds five millions of this money actually in the Treasury. In his time, the Treasury had nothing to do with the Post Office revenue. Now, he finds this department greatly enlarged in its operations, and its \$5,000,000 collected into the Treasury, like every other portion of the Government revenue. He finds Indian wars, bloody and unprovoked, have sprung up upon our borders, which every dictate of patriotism and every feeling of humanity urge him to prosecute with vigor. He finds, too, as much success had attended his successor's negotiations at home as abroad. He finds the Indian title had been extinguished, by treaty, to 116,000,000 acres of valuable lands. For these lands, Government has contracted to pay in part during 1838, and that payment must be made, and to this he can have no reasonable objection, as these lands are worth more than double the sum stipulated to be paid for them. But when all these and a few other equally just items are added to his former sanctioned 25 millions, he finds the grand sum total to be more than 50 millions!—a frightful sum indeed. What is he to do? He scans again and again the fearful list, but finds there is not one item he can dispense with. He plainly sees, that opposition to such expenditures would be dishonesty or treason, and would call down upon his head the maledictions of every honest patriot in the land.—He, therefore, gives the whole his sanction! And lo! Presto! quick! A mighty change appears! All the yelping pack, that were only yesterday belching forth their curses, deep and loud, against Mr. Van Buren's alleged extravagance, suddenly cease their murmur! Nay, they as suddenly raise their ten thousand voices in one united, unyielding, zealous strain of support of an expenditure—not of 40—but of more than 50 millions of dollars! Yea, more! They would forthwith boisterously call for additional *millions* to be spent upon roads, canals, "light houses in the skies," and the like!

Permit us now to close, by subjoining an estimate upon the basis of the supposition above indicated, adding to Mr. Adams's expenditure the increased amount of such items only as no party ever can condemn.—Many of the items below are strictly correct—others may be not exactly so. But will be found to vary so little from existing facts, as not affect all the great result:

1828.—Total expenditures of Mr. Adams's Administration,	\$25,000,000
1838.—Add the increased expenses beyond what existed in 1828, in the Executive and Legislative Departments, from causes above alluded to,	1,967,300
Add increase of expenses of Indian wars and protection of Northern frontiers,	3,968,158
Add increased expenses of light-houses, harbors, &c.,	1,251,899
Add increased expenses of navy, and protecting commerce,	1,364,541
Add increased expenses of pensions to soldiers, &c.,	3,041,940
Add increased expenses by purchase of Indian lands, &c.,	3,787,675
Add increased expenses on account of Post Office revenue,	5,000,000
Add increased expenses on account of indemnities received,	5,000,000
Grand Total,	\$49,379,923

And the increase of only eight items added!

## ONE OF THE PEOPLE.

## TO THE EDITORS OF THE CRISIS.

AN INCENDIARY AND HIS ORGAN—THE R. WHIG. By accident, the Richmond Whig of the 21st March last, came under my eye a few days ago—and the first and most conspicuous article under the Editorial head, was an incendiary piece, over the signature of "A Non-slaveholder," to which the reader's attention is earnestly called by the Editors of the Whig; and, although they hint at a difference of opinions, between themselves and their Correspondent, they prove by their remarks upon the piece, that they cordially approve its spirit and tendency. Its spirit and tendency are such as every true-hearted Virginian who reads it, ought to hold up to the indignant gaze of an insulted public. It is a base libel upon the South. A more grovelling appeal to the most grovelling prejudices which the contaminating influences of an incendiary press can engender and foment, never shocked the moral feelings of the community. You, Committee of the Crisis, and others who espouse the cause of Democratic truth, must not permit such pieces to pass unnoticed. The Whig and other kindred prints are poisoning the political atmosphere. Permit them to go on with impunity, and we shall soon find, that canvassing for office will soon become so degrading a business, that no independent and honorable man, fit to hold office, will engage in it, and the powers of Government will be monopolized by reckless and desperate mercenaries, who will stickle at nothing to accomplish their ends.

In high party times, perhaps, all parties err. But, the Richmond Whig has done more to disgrace the political character of Virginia, and to poison the minds of those within the sphere of its operations, than any other paper which ever was published in the State.—Its Editors are endowed with extraordinary talents in their way. They can so spice their most incendiary articles, that after a little practice, their most fastidious reader can swallow them without a *wry* face—especially if he, (yea, even if *she*,) be a modern Whig of the order of "all the sense and all the decency."

When a prominent Democrat stands in their way, and it becomes necessary to their ends to write him down, or kill him off, they can assume all the punctilious fastidiousness of a Pharisee of the strictest sect. They can torture the slightest appearance of indecency or inconsistency in Democrat, into the most heinous crime. They can discourse as piously about blasphemy, as any saint in Christendom. They can rail out against "Disorganizers," as indignantly as any high Tory in England.—They can find fault with the most faultless man within their reach, and brand with "impudence" and "infamy" the most conscientious and unassuming Democrat, who may happen to stand in their way. And in more instances than one, (with mortification be it said,) they have so tortured and misrepresented the sentiments and acts of some of our most honest politicians, as to throw suspicion over their character, and to destroy public confidence in them, at the very moment when they (the aforesaid Editors) were themselves hugging to their bosoms other men, whom they but a while before branded with "infamy, which an eternity of repentance could not wash out!"

But to the piece of the "Non-slaveholder." The object of the Editors and their incendiary Correspondent seems to be, to reconcile the slaveholders of the South, to General Harrison's startling proposition to emancipate our slaves, by producing the false impression, that Jefferson, Madison, Marshall, Monroe, Randolph, Wythe, &c., &c., were in favor of a similar plan. And, if they fail to reconcile the slaveholders, they strive to create the vilest prejudices in the breasts of the non-slaveholders, in order that they may make up recruits enough from them, to offset their losses from the slaveholders. They attempt to work upon the non-slaveholders of the South, by exciting prejudices against the wealthy slaveholders—by striving to foment an anti-slavery and abolition spirit, and that by drawing a contrast between the condition of the non-slaveholder and the slaveholder—prejudicing the former against the latter—getting up "a senseless cry of the poor against the rich"—doing exactly the thing which Mr. B. W. Leigh falsely charged President Van Buren with doing—the same Mr. Leigh, who, in our late Convention, contended that the poor laboring white man was no more entitled to political power than our slaves, because they performed the menial services of slaves!

I detested the sentiments of Mr. Leigh then, as I do the sentiments of him and his mouthpiece now; the same mouthpiece that then vilified him. It has been my lot (pardon the egotism) to be poor from my cradle. I was born of poor people—raised amongst poor people—have labored with them, and still labor amongst them. I claim to know more about them, and to feel more for them, than either Mr. Leigh or his mouthpiece. But, I have labored hard to rid myself and my children of the evils of poverty. I feel greatful to our Revolutionary fathers, that they blessed us with a system of Government, calculated to secure to honest industry the fruits of its own labor—to secure to every man his own, whether little or much; and which denied to any

faavored class the privilege of feasting and fattening at the expense of others, by the favoritism of Government. The interest which I feel in politics, results from a deep and thorough conviction, that the modern Whig, *alias* Federal party, are striving to subvert the fundamental principles of our Government; and that if they can succeed in their schemes, the consequences must be, that the labor and property of the *producing classes* is to be made forever slavishly tributary to the banking, stockjobbing and other kindred interests—that we shall have a splendid, expensive and irresponsible Government, and be an impoverished, degraded and dependent people—Yes—this is to be our fate, if the Federal Whig party can triumph—And those honest voters, who have been misled by the panics, clamors, and slanders of that party, had better right themselves in time. Those who wish to live honestly, as well the poor man, who wishes to be secure in the enjoyment of the fruits of his own labor, as the property-holder who relies upon *his own*, had better be guarding against the machinations of those, who rely upon the favoritism of Government, instead of their own exertions to sustain them. And, if the non-slaveholders of the South will *look to facts*, instead of the incendiary slangs of these slangwanging Editors, and their incendiary allies and correspondents, they will find, that until banking, scheming and stock-jobbing got the mastery in Virginia, there was no State in the Union, in which the poor industrious white man stood a better chance to make himself independent, and his children after him, than in Virginia. And, in spite of the blasting influences of the banking, scheming, and stock-jobbing gentry, certain it is that the poor man in Virginia, even now, need not bewail his situation, when he compares it with that of his fellow-laborer of the North, wherever Banking, Whiggery and Harrison are in the ascendant. I challenge a comparison; for, upon a fair examination, it will be found, that the end and aim of Federalism are the same every where—to wit: to subjugate the people, and to fasten them by their own purse-strings, to a splendid and overpowering National Government, and to lay the producing classes of the community under contribution, for the special benefit of those who rely upon Government favoritism. And those who wish to enjoy in safety and peace, that which is *their own*, whether little or much, whether the products of their own labor, or the proceeds of their own property, will find, that it is their policy, that it is their duty, because it is just and right, to sustain this Administration, whose fate is staked upon the Constitution as it is written, which is our only safeguard against the machinations of those who would revolutionize our Government, and would it to suit their selfish purposes.

#### A DEMOCRAT TO THE CORE.

(From Monday's *Globe*).  
TO THE PUBLIC.

Finding it impossible, in consequence of enfeebled health, to perform the duties of Postmaster-General in a satisfactory manner, I have resigned that office, to take effect as soon as my successor can be appointed.

Not having been fortunate enough to accumulate wealth in a public office, I am under the necessity of resorting to such private employment as is suited to my strength and condition, for the purpose of meeting the current expenses of a considerable family.

A few hours each day devoted to the pen, leaving an abundance of time for relaxation and exercise, I have found by experience, from the excitement of composition, to be rather conducive to health than injurious: and this is the occupation, above all others, most agreeable to my taste and my present inclination.

Messrs. Blair and Rives have kindly offered me the profits of such subscription to the Extra *Globe* for the present season, as may be raised on my account, and I have consented to contribute to it until November next, if such a number of subscribers shall be obtained as will warrant that step.

I am the more inclined to this devotion of my time from a desire to prevent any misconstruction of the motives which have led to my resignation. I wish to satisfy the whole world that no dissatisfaction with the President or his administration, no indisposition to render it the utmost support in my power, no distrust of its measures or its designs, has had any effect in determining me to prefer a private to a public station.—On the contrary, my confidence in the President, in his integrity, his principles, and his firmness, have increased from the day I was first officially associated with him; my relations with every member of his Cabinet have been uniformly of a most friendly character; and my devotion to the great measures which have been, and still are, sustained by the Administration, knows no abatement. The leading principles avowed by the President I look upon as essential to the preservation of liberty and a Government of the people; and if I had supposed that my resignation could endanger their success, I should have clung to office as I would to life.

As soon as the necessary arrangements are made, proposals, with a more extended address, will be presented to the friends of the Administration.

AMOS KENDALL.

May 11, 1840.

*"Mutiny in the Whig Camp!"*—We are indebted to the "Old Hickory" of Springfield, Illinois, for an interesting letter from James Henderson, an honest Whig of Indiana, addressed to John C. Wright and the "Confidential Committee." We shall publish this manly letter in our next.—Mr. H. calls upon Gen. Harrison to "spurn the detestable line of policy marked out for him, and to eject from his presence and confidence all such 'confidential advisers.'" If he does not, (says Mr. H.) "shame, dishonor and defeat will as assuredly follow such a course, as the diurnal revolution of the earth on its own axis. There cannot be, there ought not to be, any concealment with public men on questions of a public character. Like the dews of heaven, which fall on the possessions of the just and the unjust; all men have a right to know and receive them. They are not the property of the possessor; and more especially at this time, have the nation an undeniably right to the opinions of General Harrison on all matters of public interest. He is bound by every consideration of duty to make them fully and promptly known. If this is denied by any portion of his friends, and he permits himself to assume their councils, and refuses, then let him understand, that no soldier of the Revolution, nor of the subsequent belligerent contests in which we have been engaged, nor any one who duly regards his own honor, can support for public elevation, one who thus denies to his countrymen one of the inalienable rights of freemen."

#### ITEMS OF NEWS.

**CONGRESS.**—The Senate are engaged in the discussion of the *General Bankrupt Bill*. Messrs. Crittenden, Wall, Webster, Strange and Norwell have spoken upon it. The principal point is, whether it shall be made to extend to artificial, corporate bodies, (Banks, &c.) A Correspondent gives it as his opinion, that no bill will pass this session. In the *H. of Representatives*, several motions were made by the friends of the Administration, to suspend the rules, in order to take up the *Independent Treasury Bill*.—The Whigs voted it down—but on Wednesday, the House went into Committee of the Whole, on the state of the Union, (Mr. Banks of Virginia in the Chair,) when the bill was taken up, and Mr. Cushing moved to strike out the 1st section, which opens the whole merits of the bill for debate. Mr. Jones (Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means) was detained from the House by indisposition; and, Mr. Cushing suggested to Mr. Atherton of N. H., who had the custody of the bill, that he himself would yield the floor, if Mr. A. wished to address the Committee. Mr. A. waived any address for the present, and Mr. Cushing took the floor, and declared his readiness to go on; but on Mr. Briggs' motion, the Committee rose, and the House adjourned.

On Thursday, Mr. Cushing addressed the Committee until a quarter to 7 o'clock in the Evening.—On Wednesday, Mr. Bell's *Gag Bill* was rejected by a vote of 108 to 53.

**New Appointments.**—Mr. Niles, Postmaster-General.—Mr. Cambreleng, Minister to Russia.—Mr. A. Vail, Charge des Affaires to Spain;—and Mr. Rogers of Penn., Charge to Sardinia.

**FOREIGN.**—The steamer British Queen arrived in New York on the 15th, in 13 days 11 hours from Portsmouth. The commercial reports in the English papers speak of a decided improvement in the condition of the money market. There was a great abundance of money, and confidence among the commercial classes seemed to be increasing.

This is attributed partly to the absence of any great disturbing causes either in England or on the Continent, and partly to the prospect which a warm and genial spring holds out for an early and abundant harvest. According to the Liverpool papers of the 30th April, the intelligence from the manufacturing districts is, that the cotton trade is gradually, though slowly, recovering from the state of extreme depression under which it has so long suffered.

The prospect of an early harvest, which the favorable weather affords, will, it is supposed, give increased activity to the home market. The recent transactions in the Liverpool cotton market present a remarkable contrast to those of the corresponding period of last year. In the first four months of 1839, when prices were high, speculation was active, but the trade pursued with great caution. This year the prices are low, and the trade purchased freely, whilst the transactions of speculators are extremely limited. Flour and wheat had both declined.—In answer to a question from Mr. Hume, Lord John Russell said that on the next day he would state the actual position of the negotiations concerning the Maine boundary question. On that day, the Queen said, "The English prints are full of speculations on the Boundary Question." The Manchester *Guardian* of April 30th states, that "Reports have recently become current, to the effect that ministers have agreed with the American minister upon a basis for the settlement of the long disputed boundary question, by the adoption of the intermediate line proposed by the King of the Netherlands, and the payment of a sum of £200,000 to the State of Maine, by the British Government." We have received no confirmation yet of these reports, *on this side the water*.

**Terrible Tornado at Natchez.**—This beautiful town has been overwhelmed by a tremendous and unparalleled hurricane, on the 8th inst., about 9 o'clock. Almost every building in town, below the hill, has been prostrated! The entire loss of property, (including houses, commodities, &c.,) is said to be more than *five millions*. The lives lost are variously estimated at from 50 to 500.

Sixty flat boats lying in port, were driven from the shore and sunk. The steamboat Florida was sunk, with her crew—and other steamboats seriously injured. The town on the Bluff, also sustained many severe losses. The courthouse was partially destroyed; all the banks except the Commercial. The Planters and Parker's hotels were completely obliterated, and nothing left but a pile of bricks.

—The Presbyterian and Methodist churches were blown down. The roof of the Episcopal church is gone. Parker's Southern Exchange is level with the dust. The roofs and upper stories of the City Hotel and Mansion House are destroyed. The beautiful and splendid villa of And'w. Brown, Esq., at which place the most gorgeous and splendid fete ever given in that city to the city guests from Vicksburg last year, is totally ruined. The cost of its erection was sixty or seventy thousand dollars.—The citizens of Grand Gulf and of Vicksburg, had rushed to the desolated town to offer their sympathy and assistance. The Mississippi too was rising with great rapidity, and overflowing all the low grounds on its borders.—The losses from this visitation are said to be very great.

Wm. M. Price, the Ex. District Attorney of N. York, has returned from Europe at the suit of the United States, and held to bail in the sum of \$82,000, which he gave, and was then discharged. All this has been done, so it is said, on previous arrangement made by the friends of the defendant with the General Government.

**Anecdote of Gen. Harrison.**—Every revelation shows us how unfit William Henry Harrison is to become the President of the United States. He has placed himself in the custody of a Confidential Committee—yet we are not sure, but he requires

such *surveillance*. He wants the equanimity and discretion to qualify him for the high office to which he aspires. He needs advisers to guide him. Can any man be worthy of wielding the high powers of Chief Magistrate, who wants the good sense and the good temper, to carry him through even the probation of a candidate? The following anecdote comes to us in a variety of forms, in the Cincinnati *Advertiser*, as well as in letters published in the *Globe*. The reader will find in this day's *Crisis* evidence to satisfy him, that the selling of white people was authorized in Indiana, when he was Governor, as well as enacted in Ohio, when he was in the Legislature. Mr. Buchanan, Speaker of the H. of R., the other day addressed the people of Cincinnati, on the Presidential election, and alluded to this law.—Gen. Harrison was in Cincinnati, and heard of this speech; and, a day or two afterwards, met General Charles Hale in the streets, and attacked him "for attending the meeting at the court-house to hear Mr. Buchanan, cursing and swearing that he (R.) had calumniated him, and that every person was a damned rascal who went to hear such a damned scoundrel hold forth, &c., &c." Mr. Hale tried to make some excuse, but he refused to hear him. The next morning, after coming to himself, he concluded he had better go to General Hale and apologize, which he did, and Hale said he freely forgave him. Being lately a member of J. N. Maffit's church, he said he had informed Gen. Harrison that he had prayed for him after he went to bed, and was very sorry for his indiscretion, but could not vote for him, &c.—We quote from a Cincinnati letter in the *Thursday's Globe*. The anecdote had made great noise at Cincinnati.

#### The *Negro Procession at Washington*.

No man is more unimpassioned, high-minded and honorable than Mr. Nicholas, the Senator of Louisiana. The following letter from his pen appears in the *New Orleans Courier* of the 10th inst.:

"WASHINGTON CITY, May 3d, 1840.

"Dear Sir—We had yesterday afternoon a most extraordinary and disgusting spectacle here, about five o'clock. Between thirty and forty carts filled with negroes, with a full complement of black marshals mounted on horseback, paraded up and down the Pennsylvania Avenue. This odious pageant, with the words "Hard Cider" held up conspicuously to view, passed undisturbed. We have had several highly exciting party processions among the people of the District this winter, and are on the eve of the great and studiously gotten up parade at Baltimore; but one would scarcely have expected that in a slaveholding city, the authorities would have tolerated such an exhibition. I would that you, and indeed, every citizen of Louisiana, could have witnessed, as I did, this scene; so calculated to gratify the fanatics, and to awaken deep reflections in the slaveholder. Very respectfully,

ROBERT. C. NICHOLAS."

**TO THE POINT!**—Extract of a letter from Greene county, Pa.—"I never can agree to drop Van Buren, and take a worse. I never can agree to desert the man who rides alone above the sneers of his enemies, and never stoops to place his judgment in the bands of a despicable Committee—but when called upon to say, would he oppose any bill which had for its object the abolition of slavery in the D. of Columbia? boldly and fearlessly answered, that he would, (and afterwards unqualifiedly declared, that he would vote for such bill,)—and who unequivocally declared, that he would uncompromisingly oppose with all lawful means the re-chartering of the U. S. Bank.—Now, what does Harrison say, through his Roman Lictors? That the people must take him upon something like a "generous confidence," and will not answer in that bold, honest way, that M. Van Buren did. We will take no man upon confidence—because, if he should be made President, and a bill come before Congress, and passes for the abolition of slavery, and he did not veto it, and a few people should then rebuke him for it, he would tell them, that they had taken him on a precarious confidence—Pray, what then could they say? So about a National Bank—so about any measure; for, he refuses to answer any question, or give any pledge about them. Poinsett's bill is not as bad as Harrison's project. Besides, Van Buren never saw the details of the bill at the time he recommended the general principle of classification.—W. C. Rives has been invited by the few Whigs we have, to address the People at our June Court. We shall meet him toe to toe."

The Feds are keeping it up, with their humbug processions, log cabins and hard cider. Thus they celebrated at St. Louis, on the 5th inst., the anniversary of the battle of Fort Meigs. The St. Louis *Argus* says, this exhibition was disgraceful: "Barrels of 'hard cider' dragged through the streets and dealt out like water to boys of eight or nine years old, the City Attorney and other such characters riding through the streets in canoes, and drivers stigmatized and excited by the fumes of whiskey, and shouting like so many demons let loose from the infernal regions, constituted a part of the spectacle with which our peaceable citizens were favored on Tuesday last. All the folly and foolery of a sham fort dragged on wheels, badges and banners, and lying devices appealing to the basest passions of the multitude, sticks of wood put together like a huge crow's nest, meant to represent log cabins, steamboat flags, &c. &c. &c. This miserable monstrosity, to impress the multitude, is a direct contempt to the understanding of a free people. 'The force of folly could no further go.' Folly! It is worse. It is trick and knavery to gull the people."

The New Orleans Bee of the 13th "entertains not a lingering doubt that Gen. Harrison will carry Virginia in November!"—The N. O. Times of same date comes nearer the mark:—"The electoral votes of Virginia will be given to the Democratic candidates for the Presidency and Vice Presidency as certain as that the orb of day is the centre of the solar system!"—The Times is the true Prophet—We shall sweep the Feds in November, like the Tornado.

The New York (Whig) Legislature has just passed a Law, in favor of the Abolitionists, which strikes a blow at the rights of all the South. Under this law, a runaway negro "is to have a trial by jury, and before the master can have a writ of habeas corpus to arrest a fugitive slave, he must enter into a bond with sureties of \$1000 to pay all expense and two dollars per week for the support of such fugitive!"—Such is the concession which the Whigs of New York have made to the Abolitionists to propitiate their votes. What says the South?

The Committee of Arrangements is making all due preparation for the *Democratic Association of Richmond*. The subscription list is enlarging—Every Democrat is invited to join and co-operate.—The first meeting will take place next week, in their own wigwam. One of the most distinguished members of Congress writes, that such "Democratic Associations ought to be extensively formed over the U. States."

**The Great Humbugger Humbugged!**—The Richmond Whig has a famous letter from the West, stating that a copy of a letter had been sent to the Enquirer, giving a flaming account of Whig prospects in that region—claiming so many thousands for Harrison in Ohio, so many in Indiana, &c., &c. It is all humbug! No such letter has been received by the Enquirer Office—and in all probability the Whig has been itself humbugged and humbugged. These majorities tell well on paper; but they are "all in effigy." We shall not hear of them after November next.

The Feds have sown the wind—and will reap the whirlwind in November. The people are rising. Witness the proceedings in Louisi., Caroline and Richmond. Virginia is safe for Mr. Van Buren by thousands.—There is no mistake about it. Let the Whigs brag as they may—it is all soap-bubbles.